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CASES OF PROJECT UPGRADE: RESULTS OF INTERVIEW STUDIES  
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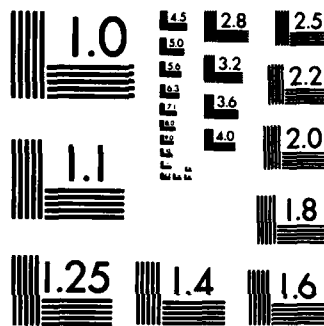
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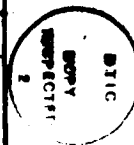
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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To amplify understanding of the individual and organizational dynamics involved in the discharge of persons under Project Upgrade, a series of interview case studies were undertaken. Interviewing teams from ISR visited 14 units and collected information concerning 53 individual Upgrade cases. Units were chosen on a basis of availability and diversity. Half were from the Atlantic Fleet, half from the Pacific Fleet. An effort was made to include appropriate numbers of warships, air groups, and amphibious and auxiliary ships. Finally, five were units with high Upgrade percentages; six were units with low percentages; three were units with no Upgrades at all.

Interview data were coded by skilled content analysts for both the individual and unit levels. Brief sketches of each of the individuals are presented in the report, together with the results of analyses.

For individuals, the results show that the characteristics most frequently associated with Upgrade status were, understandably, those used most directly to define it: poor performance, a high frequency of unauthorized absence and a poor military attitude. However, a number of other characteristics when treated categorically, appear related as well, including an anti-authority stance, personality issues, substance abuse,, and peer relations problems.

Submitting the individual records to a hierarchical cluster analysis results in the identification of five distinct "types" of Upgrade cases: Rebels (anti-authority cases), Failures (low ability cases), Burnouts (extreme drug and alcohol cases), Dropouts (alienated cases), and Sociopaths (antisocial cases).

At the organizational level, somewhat different sets of factors appeared to increase and decrease Upgrade incidence. Performing critical tasks, a large sheer number of available persons, aloof upper echelons, and deterioration in organizational functioning appeared to increase the likelihood of Upgrade incidence. On the other hand, an emphasis upon people, a structure of cohesive teams, and higher levels of morale and trust appeared to decrease that incidence. These were then combined into two different profiles of command orientation: Human Resource Oriented versus Immediate Task Oriented. It was found that the five types of Upgrade individuals occurred two to three times more frequently among the Immediate Task Oriented commands than among the Human Resource Oriented commands.

Beyond these findings, other conclusions emerged as well:

- . Drugs and alcohol, although often involved, appeared likely to be an instrumental cause only in the case of the Burnouts. Indeed, the drug culture appeared to be very much alive and to extend far beyond those whose performance was impaired.
- . In a high proportion of cases, it appeared that things had been going well until something happened, ordinarily a personal life event that caused behavior deterioration.

- . It seemed unlikely to those most familiar with the cases that these persons could be screened out in advance.

## INTRODUCTION

From its inception, Project Upgrade appeared obviously to reflect an underlying situation of poor person/environment fit. The individuals released under its provisions had voluntarily enlisted in the Navy and met its entry requirements, yet they had not adapted to Navy life, as evidenced by their substandard performance. Whether the situation represented one of an inadvertent entry of misfits--the "bad apple" hypothesis, one of organizational factors which led to under-performance, or one of some interaction between the person and the Navy environment, was unknown.

Still, it seemed highly unlikely that the causes were purely organizational. Only a small percentage of Navy E1 to E3 enlisteds had become so-called "Upgrades." Most persons of their age and length of service had adapted and succeeded, under conditions presumably common to all in given units.

The likely choice, therefore, was between a totally individual-level explanation and one in which individual characteristics interacted with particular properties of the environment. Since analyses early in the project's period had eliminated a totally individual-level explanation, the search necessarily turned to interactive possibilities (Bowers, 1983).



For this purpose, a series of case studies were undertaken. The underlying rationale was that, by taking a subset of units already included within the sample for whom multiple waves of Navy Human Resource Management survey data and longitudinal unit performance data were available, one could identify, at least in a tentative way, the following: (a) the characteristics of Upgrade individuals which seemed to differentiate them from the mass of successful enlisteds, and (b) the organizational dynamics which appeared related to their having not succeeded.

In the sections of this report which follow, we shall consider first the individual Upgrade cases themselves that were traced, second, organizational factors, identified in the units, which appear to have been related to Upgrade incidence, and finally, the interconnections between these two sets of factors.

#### Case Study Procedures--What Was Done

The original research proposal had provided that no more than 15 units would be included in the case study sample of units, to be divided as nearly as possible equally among the high, low, and zero Upgrade incidence categories. Beyond this, the following considerations were critical:

- . Since the case studies required that interviews be conducted on board the units, and since travel funds were limited, the sub-sample would necessarily be drawn from units available within the continental U.S.
- . Units from both the Atlantic and Pacific fleets must necessarily be included.

- . Some effort must be made to match roughly by unit type; that is, differences among high, low and zero Upgrade categories ought not simply reflect differences of size and other characteristics inherent in unit type.
- . Unit availability would constrain the sub-sample selection.

With these criteria in mind, the project staff drew from the overall sample of 174 fleet units included in the master survey-and-performance sample, a sub-sample which included 15 units and a paired alternate for each. These lists were forwarded to Op 135K and by them to fleet type commands to determine availability within the time window which had been set. In those cases in which neither a unit nor its alternate would be available, alternative selections were submitted. The final result was the following:

Upgrade Composition

High Upgrade Units	5
Low Upgrade Units	6
Zero Upgrade Units	3

Fleet Composition

Atlantic Fleet	7 units
Pacific Fleet	7 units

Unit Type Composition

Fast Frigates	3 units
Submarines	2 units
LST's	2 units
Minesweeps	2 units
Air Groups	4 units
Auxiliary Ships	1 unit

Mean Unit Upgrade Percentage of E1 to E7's

High Upgrade Units	5.1%
Low Upgrade Units	1.7%
Overall Percentage	3.1%

Comparison to Fleet Composition

Warships:	
Should have had	8
Number Included	7
Amphibians and Auxiliary Ships:	
Should have had	3
Number included	3
Airgroups:	
Should have had	4
Number included	4

Once a local unit liaison person had been identified, a member of the project staff contacted that individual and arranged the dates and times for the visits and interviews. In most instances, high Upgrade units were visited by a team of two project staff members; low and zero Upgrade units were ordinarily visited by one staff member.

The sequence of events in all units was approximately the same: initial conversations with the Commanding Officer and Executive Officer outlined the nature of the issue, resulted in a list of names of those Upgraded, the chain of Command related to those Upgrade cases, and the names of persons still on board who could be interviewed. Those interviewed then normally included Department Head, Division Officer, immediate supervisor, and one or more peers of the Upgrade case.

Interviews were open-ended, with the interviewee encouraged to describe the Upgrade case, events surrounding that individual's deteriorating performance, and subsequent discharge. All those interviewed were given guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality, as was the Unit itself (a guarantee given to the Commanding Officer).

Of the 82 Upgrade cases represented among these 14 units, 53 (65 per cent) could be traced through multiple interviews to codable descriptions. The remaining 29 were no longer sufficiently well known by those on board to permit successful interviews and codable results.

Although no claim can be made that these units and Upgrade cases represent a strictly representative random cross-section of their respective populations, the resulting subsamples seem at least not greatly disparate. As a result, the findings must be treated as tentative or suggestive and evaluated within the context of all other findings.

### INDIVIDUAL FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH UPGRADE

Individual interview results were written up in as near original words and detail as possible, then coded by skilled content analysts from the ISR staff. At the outset, members of the interviewing teams met and generated issues which they felt were present in their notes. These were then constructed into code "banks" which were used by the content analysts to code the individual interview results. The first one-third of the cases were coded separately by two analysts to ensure a common content analysis set, with differences resolved to a single code and orientation. The remainder were then coded by one content analyst. As an analyst encountered a response not fitting the coding scheme, it was discussed, and, where necessary, a new code was added. The resulting coding scheme, together with response percentages, is presented in Table 1.

Determining whether these proportions are in any sense statistically significant involves an assumption about the incidence of the characteristic in the population as a whole. The formula is:

$$t = \frac{\text{sample proportion} - x}{\sqrt{x(1-x)}}$$

where  $x$  = the hypothesized population proportion and  
where  $df = n-1$ .

TABLE 1  
Individual Upgrade Factors Frequencies and Percentages

	Codes	Cat. Incid.	%
1. Substance Abuse	100 SUBSTAN	60%	19
1.1 Alcohol problem			56
1.2 Drug usage			5
1.3 Drug sales			
2. Anti-authority stance	101 ANTAUTH	82%	32
2.1 Counter-dependency			33
2.2 Lack of obedience			10
2.3 Passive resistance			75
2.4 Poor military attitude			
3. Anti-social behaviors	102 ANTISOC	47%	28
3.1 Violence			19
3.2 Larceny			
3.3 Misfit			
3.4 Trouble with civil authorities			
4. Outside Factors	103 OUTFACT	37%	16
4.1 Marital problems			23
4.2 Back home problems			4
4.3 History of being abused child			9
4.4 Love entanglements			
5. Personality Issues	104 PERSISS	75%	18
5.1 Hygiene problems			6
5.2 Eccentricity			7
5.3 Lacking in intelligence			23
5.4 Lazy			24
5.5 Above average intelligence			25
5.6 Immaturity			16
5.7 Loner			
6. Demographic Factors	105 DEMOS	30%	30
6.1 Lack H.S. diploma			2
6.2 Drug waiver (signed @ recruitment)			
7. Performance Issues	106 PERFORM	91%	65
7.1 Poor performance			63
7.2 UA incidence			35
7.3 Excessive Captain's Mast (NUPs)			
8. Peer Relations	107 PEERREL	61%	14
8.1 Rat pack (susceptibility to peer pressure)			32
8.2 Interpersonal problems			5
8.3 Irritant			16
8.4 Untrustworthy			12
8.5 Bad influence on others			5
8.6 Widely suspect			12
8.7 Peer Resentment			

In the present instance, if one assumes that the characteristic occurs among ten per cent of the population, a 70 per cent sample incidence is required. Table 2 presents individual code percentages, in descending order of incidence. Obviously, with the more generous population assumption, only one characteristic--Poor Military Attitude--attains significance, although several others (Poor Performance, UA Incidence, and Drug Usage) come close. With a less generous population assumption, (that is, that these attributes are relatively rare), a number of other characteristics would reach or come close to significance.

Categorical incidence; that is, percentages of occurrence of any code in the category, is another matter, however. Five of the eight categories reach or come close to significance under even the more generous population assumption. (See Table 3)

It appeared possible that these attributes might point toward a much more limited number of "pure" types of Upgrade cases. Accordingly, the individual records were submitted to a hierarchical cluster analysis program called HGroup (Veldman, 1967). The result was a set of five reasonably distinct types of individual upgrades. Table 4 presents a thumbnail description of each type, together with a list of its principal coded loadings. The latter are presented as mean scores for the individuals comprising the type, where a score of 2.00 equals "characteristic present," and a score of 1.00 equals "characteristic absence." Thus, a mean score

**TABLE 2**  
**Individual Upgrade Factors**  
**In Order of Incidence**

2.4 Poor Military Attitude	75%
7.1 Poor Performance	65%
7.2 UA Incidence	63%
1.2 Drug Usage	56%
7.3 Excessive Captain's Mast (NJPs)	35%
2.2 Lack of Obedience	33%
2.1 Counter-dependency	32%
8.2 Interpersonal Problems	32%
6.1 Lack H.S. Diploma	30%
3.1 Violence	28%
5.5 Intelligence/Potential	28%
5.6 Immaturity	25%
4.2 Back Home Problems	23%
5.4 Lazy	23%



TABLE 3  
Categorical Incidence  
Upgrade Individual Factors

	.
Performance Issues	91%
Anti-Authority Stance	82%
Personality Issues	75%
Peer Relations	61%
Substance Abuse	60%
Anti-Social Behaviors	47%
Outside Factors	37%
Demographic Factors	30%

of 2.00 would indicate that the attribute was present for all individuals in the type category, whereas a score of 1.00 would indicate that it was not present for any individual. Only loadings of 1.50 or higher, that is, only those loadings true of at least half of the individuals comprising the type, are listed.

TABLE 4

## The Five Types of Upgrade Individuals

Type 1 - "Rebels" These appear to be individuals whose most distinguishing characteristic is unwillingness to submit to authority. They resent being told what to do and express that resentment both verbally and behaviorally. They are extremely counter-dependent and appear to those who attempt to supervise them to be immature. Drug usage is common, although not alcohol abuse, and one gets the impression that the drug involvement represents more a youth counter-culture phenomenon than a more severe dependency. The result is what is viewed as a poor military attitude, along with poor performance.

<u>Attribute</u>	<u>Loading</u>
Poor military attitude	2.0
Poor performance	1.9
Counter-dependency	1.9
Anti-authority stance	1.6
Immature	1.6
Drug usage	1.6

Type 2 - "Failures" Only two characteristics appear to distinguish these individuals--lack of a high school diploma and an excessive incidence of unauthorized absence. It may be that both of these characteristics reflect an underlying inability to stick with a task to completion, or it may be that the unauthorized absences reflect an attempt to escape from a situation in which their lack of ability is obvious and uncomfortable.

<u>Attribute</u>	<u>Loading</u>
UA Incidence	1.9
Lack high school diploma	1.8

Type 3 - "Burnouts" These seem to be individuals who have turned to escape through substance abuse, similar to those whom high school juveniles term "marijuana burnouts." They do not solve whatever problems they have, but rather become unconcerned about themselves and others. Having sunk into inertia or lethargy, they develop hygiene problems and, with those, interpersonal problems with their peers.

<u>Attribute</u>	<u>Loading</u>
Poor military attitude	1.9
Drug usage	1.9
Poor performance	1.8

Alcohol problem	1.5
Hygiene problem	1.5
Interpersonal problems	1.5

Type 4 - "Dropouts" These are individuals who appear to have "tuned out and turned off." Their lack of obedience is less a matter of resistance to authority than one of indifference. They absent themselves. Alcohol is seldom a factor, and drug usage, although present, seems to be an ancillary part of the much larger pattern of having simply "dropped out."

<u>Attribute</u>	<u>Loading</u>
Poor performance	1.9
Poor military attitude	1.8
Lack of obedience	1.8
Excessive NJP	1.7
UA incidence	1.6
Drug usage	1.5

Type 5\* - "Sociopaths" These are persons seen as having relatively high levels of intelligence and potential, but who appear to be guided by no set of reasonable rules. Drugs are less a problem than is alcohol, and they are prone to violence. There is frequently a history of having been an abused child, and there are back home problems before or during service. These factors not only affect their performance, but lead them frequently to non-judicial punishment.

<u>Attribute</u>	<u>Loading</u>
Poor military attitude	2.0
Poor performance	2.0
Intelligence/potential	2.0
Violence	2.0
Abused child	2.0
Misfit	2.0
Lack of obedience	2.0
Back home problems	2.0
Alcohol problem	2.0
Excessive NJP	2.0

\* For Type 5, the small number of cases produces a large number of loadings at 1.5 or higher. Accordingly, only those at 1.0 are listed.

### Individual Case Descriptions

In this next section, there is presented a brief description of the events and characteristics associated with each of the Upgrade cases for whom material was collected in the interviews. Understandably, the notes obtained in the interviews, and which formed the material for coding the individual cases, were much more complete than what is presented in this report. Nevertheless, these descriptions should provide at least some flavor of the complexity of problems represented in the behavior and background of the Upgrade cases.

#### Upgrade Case #1

This individual was 21 years of age at the time of discharge, had had approximately one and one-third years of active service, and had been aboard the Command for just under one year. He was a high school graduate, and was single with no dependents. He had received no civilian offenses, but had received non-judicial punishment on three occasions (one of these for unauthorized absence).

He was viewed by almost every person as an alcoholic, one who would leave on the spur of the moment, go on a drinking bout and become violent. At the same time, he was viewed as having high potential--a view which he himself shared, since he was reported to have often stated he was working with incompetent people. His violence was always directed at military personnel, never at civilians, and often was directed toward his own shipmates. He was also reported to have been an abused child.

Those closest to him said that he started out as not a bad individual. He had turned down an opportunity for A school to remain near his fiancée, who lived near the unit's location. A factor complicating this relationship, however, and one that apparently weighed heavily on his mind, was that she made a great deal more money than he did. The trouble, they said, began shortly after the fiancée terminated their relationship. His behavior had become bizarre, the drinking increased, and his ordinary domineering stance had turned to violence. His performance, up to that time at least acceptable, had deteriorated.

Upgrade Case #2

No background data were provided on this individual. Those close to him, and the Chief for whom he worked, said that, when he first arrived onboard, he seemed to be a nice person, one who perhaps would do something spectacular by way of performance. This continued for some period of time, up to a point where he was about to be promoted to third-

class Petty Officer. At that point, he received a letter from home. None of the informants were aware of precisely what the contents of that letter had been, nor were they certain of its source. However, he went home after receiving it, and, when he returned, was never the same again. He began hanging around with an undesirable crowd and took to heavy drinking. There was some suspicion of drug usage as well, and, indeed, he had gone to Captain's Mast once for presence of cocaine in his urine. He was an A school graduate, and it was said that, when he wasn't drinking, he was a good and knowledgeable worker. However, from the point of the letter, the visit home, and the deterioration in his behavior, his performance became increasingly spotty, to the point where he simply would not perform. His attitude deteriorated. He was frequently drunk and often started fights. He became, in the words of one person who knew him, "a derelict." He was, however, seen as an individual with high potential.

#### Upgrade Case #3

At the time of discharge this individual was 21 years of age, had had slightly less than three and one-half years of active service, one those years aboard the Command. He was a high school graduate, and was single with no dependents. He had received no civilian offenses, but had received non-judicial punishment on seven occasions two of them involving having been drunk and disorderly, and four of them involving possession of marijuana. The first

performance appraisal occurred when he was in A school and indicated his performance was certainly acceptable. The second occurred approximately one year prior to discharge and indicated that his performance had deteriorated dramatically in all aspects.

The view of this individual held by the persons who supervised him was extremely negative. He was seen as having had a poor attitude from the time he had come aboard. He was viewed as a loner, and as a chronic drug and alcohol abuser. They described the attitude prevailing among persons in his work group as, "If you go out with X, you'll end up in jail." He was, indeed, reported to have been in jail for a number of offenses, ranging from fighting to exposure in public. It appeared that his problems occurred on liberty, when, after a few drinks, he would pick a fight. It seemed not really to matter whom he picked on to start such a fight. The emphasis was on civilians, but not by much. Other military persons and fellow crewmen were candidates as well. He was described as having had a very bad psychological problem. He had experienced difficulty adjusting to the Navy, and to civilians, and much of it was seen as tied to a terrible fear which he had of his father. Apparently, his father had beaten him chronically and severely, and, while he loved his father, he was terrified of him as well. His supervisor once had encountered him sitting on his rack, crying. When asked what the trouble was, he simply said that it was his father. These same



supervisors described him as lazy, as not wanting to work, and as off in his own world. He was seen as having no desire to improve, and no incentive, but as not complaining, at the same time. He simply did not care. He would do as he was told, expressing a poor attitude toward doing so. 0 He was a person who apparently could always obtain drugs, whether in port or at sea. He could not function when he was under the influence of drugs, and he could not function when he was not. However, if he were kept away from alcohol, particularly, he was viewed as a rather mellow and likeable individual. He was not known as being rowdy while aboard ship, but alcohol while on liberty got him into continual trouble.

An interesting fact reported by his supervisor was that, while he wanted to get out of the Navy and as a matter of fact had only a few months of service left, he was adamant that he didn't want to be kicked out of the Navy, because he was afraid of what his father would do to him. In fact, it was reported that, after he was discharged, he remained in the area with no particular occupation or future, but simply not going home until it would have been his normal time to return.

The view of this individual by his peers was somewhat different. They described this individual as being very intelligent but not fitting the system, just unwilling or unable to put up with the necessary discipline and regimentation. He was described as getting along very well

with his peer group. They also said that drugs and alcohol did not affect his work. It was apparent from these conversations that his peer group, contrary to the report of his supervisors, held a high respect for this man, felt he had known his job and known it well. They also said he got along well with people who were not in positions of authority.

Upgrade Case #4

This individual was 19 years of age and had had one and two-thirds years of service, all but three months of it aboard the Command. He had received 11 years of education and was married with two dependents. He had received no civilian offenses, and his military offenses consisted of non-judicial punishment for two instances of unauthorized absences, with the second involving an accusation, as well, of larceny. There was only one set of performance marks for this person, obtained approximately one year from the time of enlistment, and reflecting excellent performance.

He was reported to be popular, liked by everyone onboard, and a good worker. However, because of family problems, he could not function effectively in the Navy. His wife was very young, as was he, and their severe money problems in part seemed to have originated from her refusal to use any military medical facilities in relationship to child delivery. They apparently had one child, when, in a second pregnancy, she suffered a miscarriage, followed by another child with medical problems. Refusing to use

military medical facilities, their expenses mounted tremendously. He began responding with incidents of unauthorized absences. Whenever counselled, he would listen and would try, but these family problems seemed to override whatever gains he was able to make.

In the eyes of his Petty Officer, when he had first come aboard he was a fine sailor. However, the family problems, in combination with the fact that he hung around with a group of men from the First, or I Division, who had been chronically UA, led him to respond in kind. His wife and children were clearly more important to him than the Navy was. The fact that he was in financial difficulty and only 19 years of age, and had a job with his father waiting on the outside, led him to want to be released under project Upgrade.

#### Upgrade Case #5

This individual was 22 years old and had had slightly over three years of active service, two of those years aboard the Command. He had 10 years of education and was married with one dependent. He had received no civilian offenses, but had received non-judicial punishment nine times (seven of them for unauthorized absence; one for possession of marijuana; and another for sleeping on watch). There were two performance appraisals on this individual, one about six months following his enlistment, another shortly before his discharge, and both of them reflected very low scores.

His supervisor characterized this individual as having had a very bad drug problem, and as having wanted to listen to no-one about it. He was described as ignoring everyone, being ignored by everyone, and as caring about nothing. He had a very serious personal hygiene problem and perhaps for this reason did not get along well with his peer group. He was described as having no self-respect and no self discipline. His attitude was that he was stuck in the Navy and might as well do nothing. He was viewed by his supervisor and his peers as using drugs to look good and to cope with his problems. 0 Interestingly, he was described by several of his peers as having been all right until a cruise somewhat earlier. There was, in addition, reference to a problem and which had had emerged in his family which become evident during that cruise. He was seen as unable to handle the pressure of life from that time on, and simply relied upon drugs to get through. They said, as well, that after his first few times of getting into trouble he simply no longer cared.

The Commanding Officer expressed the view that the entire problem had probably been his wife, who, in his opinion, did not help him at all.

This individual was 20 years of age, had had just under two years of active service, and been on board the Command a little over one-third of a year. He was a high school graduate and was married with one dependent. He had received no civilian offenses. He had received non-judicial punishment five times, twice for unauthorized absence, once for missing the ship's movement, and once for attempted larceny. There were three sets of performance appraisals. The first, approximately a year after entering the service, were moderately low. The second, approximately one month later, were quite high; and the final appraisal was high in all areas except military behavior, which was extremely low.

It was reported that his marriage had involved financial problems and that his solution to those problems had been through theft, through larceny onboard. He was described as being a good thief, that is, a skilled one. He sought Navy help for his financial difficulties, but had gotten himself so far into debt that the Navy Relief System refused him. On several occasions he was severely beaten by the crew because he was using his watch station responsibilities to circulate through the unit and scout items to steal. He was characterized as having been a problem since he had come aboard.

From the Chief and the Petty Officer who supervised him, he was described as reporting a number of grandiose stories, such as the claim that his father was a millionaire, or tales of he and his wife buying an expensive house for cash, etc.

Upgrade Case #7

At the time of discharge, this individual had had one and one-half years of active service, slightly over one year of it aboard the Command. He was a high school graduate, was single, and had no dependents. His performance appraisal after five months of service was very good. After one year of service, his appraisal was somewhat lower, but not low. By the time of his discharge, however, his performance ratings were extremely low. He had received no civilian offenses, but had received non-judicial punishment four times, each time for unauthorized absence.

The descriptions provided by various informants give a reasonably consistent picture. The Commanding Officer felt that he was basically a good kid, not mean, but that he had tried to project a Hell's Angels image. He had come from a split family and had grown up with no father figure around. From a Petty Officer who supervised him came the view that this individual had been too young to be in the Navy, that the trouble he got into, he got into on his own, and that it consisted largely of childish behavior. He had, for example, brought girls into the barracks, younger than himself, even though he was only 17, and taken nude

pictures. He had displayed no respect for authority and would show up whenever he felt like it when told to muster. His comment typically would be "What can they do to me, kick me out?" When he worked, however, he was seen as very good. An observation was made by one informant that he had gotten into trouble in civilian life and that the courts or someone had decided that entering the Navy might help him. From another Petty Officer who was his supervisor, there came the report that when he had first come aboard, he had tried to work, but that he may have gotten involved with the wrong people. From yet another Petty Officer there was the observation that this person was basically a good individual, physically rather small and the kind of person who responded to peer pressure because of his small size. He was seen as having had a very difficult time adapting to the other persons in the unit because he was so young. He was also reported to have been a drug user.

Upgrade Case #8

This individual had had just under one and one-half years of active service, and had been aboard the Command slightly over a year. He was a high school graduate, was single with no dependents. He had no civilian offenses, but had received non-judicial punishment on five occasions, three of them for unauthorized absence, one for being drunk and disorderly. There were three sets of performance

appraisals on him, the first approximately six months after entering the service with relatively high ratings. The second, after approximately ten months of service, showed substantial decline, and the final set just prior to discharge showed even more decline.

Those who knew him reported that he would do no work unless continually watched. During his time off, he was reported to have been a thief. At the start, it was reported, he had been simply quiet. He was described as a physically large individual and extremely lazy. One informant reported that he had been told by the courts to enter the Navy or go to jail. He was a drug user, as well. He had displayed no consideration for his appearance or for how other persons saw him.

Upgrade Case #9

This individual had had one and one-half years of active service and had been onboard for all but three months of that period. He was a high school graduate and was single with no dependents. No information about civilian or military offenses was available. There were two performance appraisals, one approximately five months after he entered the service which reflected average ratings, and one just prior to his discharge which reflected substantial deterioration in performance.



He was described by those who knew him, including Petty Officers who supervised him, as a hard worker, although a little slow and at times a little lazy. He was also described as generally well liked, although he had gotten caught by his unit mates for stealing and had paid the informal consequences for that. Those close to him were certain that he had been on drugs and, indeed, he had gotten into a few fights with men from another unit over that very issue. He had poor judgement and was seen as a follower, not a leader. At the outset he had been seen as a person who worked very well. However, he had begun to run with a group that was into drugs and became mixed up in that as well. He was reported to have been satisfied with his paycheck, did not work a great deal, and drank a lot off duty.

Upgrade Case #10

At the time of discharge, this person had had approximately two years of active service, all but four months of it aboard the Command. He had received 11 years of education and was single with no dependents. He had received two civilian offenses, eviction from an apartment for failure to pay rent, property damage, and being a general nuisance; and arrested for public drunkenness and drinking under age. He had received non-judicial punishment three times, once for unauthorized absence, once for disrespect to a Petty Officer, and once for violation of a lawful general regulation. There were three performance

appraisals, the first after approximately five months of service in which the ratings were quite high, the second after one and one-half years of service in which all the ratings were quite high except military behavior which was low. The final set was just prior to discharge and showed all ratings being quite low.

The Commanding Officer's description of this individual was that he had been a "defiant little guy". None of the other Officers remembered him, and the remaining information about the individual came from Petty Officers and peers. According to them, he was a great individual, well liked, and the best worker in the unit. His problem, they said, had been his mouth. He had kept them laughing continuously. He would talk back to Chiefs and Officers, in their eyes not intending really to be disrespectful, just saying the wrong things at the right time. He was described as having kept morale up. He had kept people feeling good because of what he said. He'd say things that they wanted to say but were afraid to. He was an efficient performer in their eyes, one who would work hard and who was fast and quick. However, he was indeed a drug user and had in fact sold them for a while aboard the unit. He really had not wanted to get out of the Navy, at least not until he learned they were going to discharge him. One individual who had received a letter from him said that he is now a foreman in an industrial operation, but that he still misses the Navy.

Upgrade Case #11

This individual had had two years of active service, one and one-quarter years of it aboard the Command. He was a high school graduate, single with no dependents. He had received no civilian offenses, and his only military offense had been once when he received non-judicial punishment for unauthorized absence from an off-load working party. He had received four performance appraisals, the first approximately eight months after entering the service and the ratings were high. Approximately one and one-half years into active service he had received a second performance appraisal, and the ratings were moderately good. Just prior to completing two years of service he received his third performance appraisal and the ratings were quite low, as they were in the fourth and final one just before discharge.

Those who knew him said that, when he had first come aboard the unit, he had been great in performance and as an individual, but that he had gotten into trouble with drugs, falling in with a group of persons who were rather heavy drug-users. He was described as the kind of person who would work when he wanted to, but who would go out, get drunk and then use drugs. He really didn't try and in part the reason, they said, may have been because his father was well to do, The individual, in their eyes, was basically a spoiled brat.

He was reported not to have been interested in the Navy from the start, and had simply wanted to get out. They said he also was not reliable. He would borrow ten dollars until payday, and three weeks after payday, if the person would go and mention it to him or ask him about it, he would simply become angry and deny he had borrowed it, at which point his large physical size would pose a problem.

There were also strange things in his life, such as suddenly having two new trucks parked in the parking lot. However, he had no regard even for these, because they were run down and worn out almost immediately. They reported that he is now back home with his mother and father, where he apparently wanted to be in the first place.

Upgrade Case #12

At the time of discharge, this individual had had one and one-half years of active service, eight months of it aboard the Command. He was a high school graduate, single with no dependents. He had received no offenses, military or civilian. Instead, there were the following sorts of comments: that he was not adapted to Navy life, that he lacked the ability to perform all but the most menial tasks without excessive supervision. He had received two performance appraisals, the first approximately nine months after he had entered the service, in which the ratings were quite high, and the second at the time of discharge when they were mixed. They were high in military behavior and military appearance and low in all other things.

This individual was described by those who knew him as a "space case". He walked around in a daze and was a strange, quiet guy who seemed to be off in his own world. He had not carried a conversation well, and would forget what he was talking about, going off into another area. For example, one individual who was assigned to room with this person when he had first arrived at the unit, said that the individual seemed to try to be helpful, telling him where to go, what to do, and so forth, but that, in the middle of the conversation, he would drift off into some unrelated topic. He said that you really had had to coax the individual to get him to talk. He was described as a "fat, little kid," one whose mother must have taken complete care of him. It was thought that his family had had to have money. However, the parents were separated, with the father living in one state, the mother and sister living in another state, and with the individual having grown up with the mother. He had not used drugs, drank only moderately, and had been seen intoxicated only once.

One individual, who knew him better than perhaps anyone else, said that he had expressed an intent to strike for corpsman. When the person reporting this had gone on leave, the individual told him that he had received orders to go to corpsman's school at Great Lakes. Instead, when this person returned from leave, he was surprised to find that the individual had been discharged under Project Upgrade.

This individual had had 14 months of active service, nine months of it aboard the Command. He was a high school graduate, single with no dependents. There were no civilian offenses and only two military offenses, non-judicial punishment for unauthorized absence for 35 minutes in one instance, and for one day in the other. There were three performance appraisals. The first had occurred approximately four months after entering the service, and the ratings were high; a second had taken place approximately a year after entering the service, and the ratings were still high; and the final one, just before discharge, showed ratings that were low in all areas except military appearance, which was high.

The Commanding Officer described this individual as "not a bad kid," but one prone to peer pressure and lacking in back-bone. He felt that the person had not been malicious. Those who knew him, however, had a quite different picture of this individual. He was known as a complete drug addict, the worst addict aboard. One individual said he had no idea why anyone had let this person into the Navy in the first place, since he had been an addict when he arrived. For example, at sea, lacking usual drugs, he would put turpentine on a rag and hold it over his nose until his pupils had dilated and he had received whatever high there was. Not content with doing this himself, he then tried to get others to do the same. He would sleep when he was supposed to be working, and, at

night, when he was supposed to be sleeping, he would prowl the ship. His memory was short, and he could not be allowed near equipment because he was too much of a hazard. Another comment that was made was: "He said many things to many people, and he's lucky he didn't really get hurt by them."

Upgrade Case #14

This individual had had 14 months of active service, only two months of it aboard the Command. He was a high school graduate, single with no dependents. The only infraction listed was that of theft from the Naval Exchange. His two performance appraisals, one approximately six months into service and the second just prior to discharge both reflected ratings that were moderate to high.

Those who knew him described him as a back-woods type of individual, one who had caused no trouble. It was said that he had intended to get married and had sent most of his money home to his fiancée or to his family. Lacking money for the rest of the month to do much of anything, he would do very little. He had bought an old junker car, would load a number of persons into it, go out, and get drunk on payday, and that would be the end of it.

Another individual said that he spent a great deal of energy goofing off at night, drank heavily when he drank, and would smoke to get high. However, he was shocked when he was informed that he was being proposed for Project Upgrade. As far as he had known, they said, he had simply been late or something that day. They had called him into

the office, and asked him whether he wanted out. At first he had said that he did not, but after thinking about it, he had thought that, if they didn't want him, perhaps he should say yes. So he went back and said that yes, he did want out.

The individual closest to him said that he felt this person was just a young kid, but would have worked out, that they just didn't give him a chance.

Upgrade Case #15

This individual at the time of discharge had had just under two years of active service, one and one-third of it aboard the Command. He had nine years of education, was single with no dependents. There were two infractions listed, both non-judicial punishment for unauthorized absence. There were three performance appraisals: the first, approximately six months after entering the service and the second, about 14 months after entering the service, reflected ratings that were quite high. The final one just prior to discharge reflected very low ratings.

In the view of the Commanding Officer, this individual had started out as a fairly decent sailor. Those close to him, however, said there had been family problems involving the mother, a girl-friend, or something. He had experienced some problems of this kind before he arrived in the unit and the problems had led him simply to take off, go home, and presumably try to solve the problems. It was not known by those who were close to him whether he had been on drugs or



not. He was reported to have been a good worker. However, he was an individual who, on Friday night, would go to the Club, get drunk, get into fights, tear up the Club, etc. Another individual reported that this person had had a girl back home who was nothing but a problem to him, and whom he had wanted to get away from. He had also been in an Army Reserve unit. His step-father, however, was reported to have been after him, had not treated him well, and for some infraction or other had taken away his truck, which meant that he no longer had transportation to his Reserve unit meetings. Not attending those, he was forced to go on active duty for two years, and it was at that point that he had entered the Navy. He was reported to be untidy and unable to get into a routine of any kind. He had wanted to do things his way, even in work. In the work part, however, he had not done too badly, but it was reported that the supervisor had had to keep on him, since he had a tendency to goof off. If he had something on his mind, if he was worrying, they said, one could not get anything by way of work from him. When he started drinking, he was very destructive.

Upgrade Case #16

This individual had been in active service for approximately two years, just under one year of it aboard the Command. He was a high school graduate, and a graduate of A school. He had received performance appraisals in A school and approximately three months aboard this Command,

both of them favorable to high. He was described as very bright--a person, however, who could not accept any authority at all, and who had come from a broken home. If a job assignment interested him he would do it; if it did not, he wouldn't. He was argumentative almost all of the time and was described as having had a big chip on his shoulder. As a result of that, he had been a fairly substantial discipline problem.

The Chief to whom he was responsible confirmed that he was a bright individual, but said that he "played a lot of head games." He said one had to be very, very careful what one said to this individual. For example, if one told him to do something, he would screw it up, and then when questioned about it, would feed back exactly what the Chief had said, complete with implied omissions; that is, things that one would ordinarily assume anyone would take for granted, but which had not been said, and which he had therefore not done. He commented that, after the individual's performance began to deteriorate, the peer group ostracized him and that it was peer pressure that finally did him in.

He was also described at the time he came aboard as having been rather accident-prone, and that his peers had picked on him, not physically but just by verbal comments which the individual resented a great deal. They had tagged him as not being very sharp, yet he had felt that he was much smarter than his rank indicated. The Chief also

said that when this individual first came aboard, he had appeared to be doing alright, but that in his view, there had been some medical or psychological problem. He was described as sleeping continuously. He described a situation where this individual was on watch. The Chief came aboard the unit, found the individual standing up, leaning against a wall, sound asleep with his 45 strapped on. The Chief had to shake him three times before he awoke. He had received non-judicial punishment on four occasions: two of them involving unauthorized absence, one involving dereliction of duty and failure to qualify, and another dereliction of duty. He was reported to have been a person who did not like being in the Navy. Economics had influenced him after high school; in other words, he joined the Navy because he could not find a job.

When he had arrived aboard the Command, for a while he did reasonably well and was not a discipline problem. Suddenly, how, he had changed and had no longer wanted to qualify. ever He had used no drugs and did not even drink. He was described as appearing all the time as if he would have a nervous breakdown at any moment. He picked up the attitude of "I don't care anymore. I'm seen as dirt," and he had just given up.

Upgrade Case #17

This individual had been aboard the Command six months. He was a high school graduate. It was rumored that he had gotten married, but that the marriage had broken up during his Navy service. It was at the point of this break-up that the individual seemed to go down-hill. He was in his mid to early twenties, a bit older than the others, and had done part of a previous hitch in the Army. He had been released from that, he had said, for some sort of back injury which had occurred in basic training. He had committed no civilian offenses during the time of his service (though it was subsequently learned that there was an outstanding warrant for his arrest). He had received non-judicial punishment on four instances, all of them involving unauthorized absence and one with an additional charge of larceny.

The Petty Officer to whom he reported said that, just before all the disciplinary problems began, the individual had taken leave and gone home. It was at this time, supposedly, that he had married, but the marriage had immediately broken up, and it was from that point that he started to go down-hill. He was not seen as a violent individual, nor was he particularly susceptible to the hazing and razzing that goes on when a person first comes aboard. The individual didn't care much about that, perhaps because of his previous Army experience. He was reported to have had a little group of his own in the unit, a group of men that he led around. However, off the unit, he would

take off by himself in his car and was seen as a loner. It was assumed that he was involved in drugs, but no-one was absolutely certain. It was reported that his principal problem had been that he would not come to work unless he wanted to. An individual close to him said that the reason he had joined the Navy was that he had had nothing going for himself by way of employment back home, and indeed that, in some way, romantically or otherwise, he had been in trouble back home.

Upgrade Case #18

This individual had been aboard the Command 11 months. He had nine years of education and was single with no dependents. Although aboard the unit he had run with persons who were into drugs, there had been no real evidence that he himself had been involved with drugs. He may have had an alcohol problem, although that also was not clear. He was described as not a violent type. He had had no civilian offenses, but had had four occasions of non-judicial punishment, two for being asleep on watch and two for unauthorized absence and missing the ship's movement. He was described as not lacking in intelligence, but as having had all the characteristics of someone having something other than himself as a problem. He had never been flagrant, had always been apologetic, and had had many friends. Those familiar with the situation said that in the early months of this individual's time aboard, there had

been a serious drug problem in the unit, a group of about 25 persons who engaged in pot parties off the ship. This individual had been a person who had been in and out of that group. He was described as an "alright" guy when away from the unit, and that he was well liked by the new arrivals.

The Chief for whom he worked said that, when he had first come aboard he had seemed alright, but had gone sour for some reason. Finally, a person who knew him said that the individual's parents had thrown him out and told him to join the Navy or something. He was not happy in the Navy and was happy to get out.

Upgrade Case #19

This individual had been aboard one year at the time of discharge. He was not a high school graduate. He had had no civilian offenses, but had received non-judicial punishment six times, two involving unauthorized absence, one involving missing the ship's movement, three others for disobeying a lawful order.

The had Chief for whom he worked said that this individual had been a health fanatic. He also had not liked the particular individual for whom he had worked, and that that was a favorite topic of his. He was described by his peers as arrogant, as not liking authority, and as not liking to be told to do things. When told to do things, he would simply turn around and walk away. One of his peers said that the individual was large physically, and that he, the peer, had the impression that from his sheer size no one

in school had ever given him any problem, with the result that the individual was a bit of a bully. He also said that something, he did not know what, had happened earlier to this individual, and that as a result of it, he did not fit in with senior people at all. He had come into the Navy, it was reported, because he had had no job opportunities back home. He had used drugs to some extent, but not extensively. He was well liked by the crew, and there was a short mourning period after he left, particularly by his close friends, who felt that this should not have happened to him. Nevertheless, he wanted to get out and has now become an assistant high school coach in a sport which he personally found attractive. Concerning drug usage, this particular peer felt that the individual used drugs purposely to get out.

Upgrade Case #20

No background data were available for this case. His peers characterized this individual as having been a reasonably effective worker. At a minimum, he had done what he was told, However, he was a chronic drug abuser and had the reputation of stealing. His supervisor saw him as the type of person who would stay just one step ahead of the law. His peers described his attitude as one of indifference, whether it was to possession or use of marijuana, or to simply loafing on the job. His attitude had been, "If they kick me out, so what?"

Upgrade Case #21

No background data were available for this individual. It was known that he had been the valedictorian of his high school class. He was intellectually bright, and there had been no evidence of either drug or alcohol abuse. However, he was a large person physically and so slow in physical movement that he could not safely operate ship-board machinery. He was viewed as having been a hazard, both to himself and to others. His behavior had also been a bit bizarre, in that he refused to eat food. He had received non-judicial punishment for unmilitary behavior at one point because he would not eat and had insisted on sustaining himself with vitamins. Indeed, after a period of poor performance, they had searched his locker and had found bottles and bottles of over-the-counter vitamins, upon which he sustained himself.

Upgrade Case #22

No background information in any depth was available. The individual had received non-judicial punishment on four occasions as well as one Special Court Martial. He was described as an extremely counter-dependent individual, who had been unable to get along with anyone aboard the Command. He had felt that everyone in the Navy was out to get him. He could not accept supervision, was rebellious, and ignored authority. He did what he liked to do. When he liked the



job assigned to him, he would do an excellent job, but there was difficulty, according to his supervisor, finding enough appealing jobs for the individual to keep him busy. He was also a substance abuser, abusing alcohol on occasion, but particularly drugs, including hard drugs.

Upgrade Case #23

No background information was available, except that the unit had no record of this individual ever having received non-judicial punishment. The Commanding Officer remembered that he had come from a very large family, but had had very uncaring parents. He had had a significant personal hygiene problem and had been widely known as a substance abuser. His peers reported that he was on drugs all the time and indeed was known throughout the ship as the "paint-thinner sniffer". Concerning his performance, his supervisor reported that the greatest difficulty had been that he would never be where he was supposed to be. If assigned a job in a remote part of the unit, the supervisor would attempt to find him and would eventually find him nowhere near his job site.

Upgrade Case #24

Formal background information was unavailable. However, it was reported that this individual was 17 and that this was the first time he had been away from home. His parents were divorced, and apparently that divorce had caused some problem in his life. The Executive Officer of the unit felt that there had been some critical event in

this person's life, but he did not know what that event had been. The Petty Officer who was his supervisor reported that he had been running away from something when he joined although he, the Petty Officer, did not know what that something had been. In addition, he had not had a high school diploma. He did not drink, but was known as a drug abuser to some degree. Again, his Petty Officer reported that he had not made friends easily primarily, because of the hygiene problem, and that persons would simply not leave him alone. He was slow as a worker, but he felt that the individual had needed someone to take him under his wing. One of his peers said that aboard that ship, once you became labelled as a "dirt-bag", it was difficult to escape. He felt that the unit had never given the individual a fair chance.

Upgrade Case #25

Formal background information was not available. However, it was known that this individual was not a high school graduate, that he had had at least one episode of unauthorized absence and had had a Special Court Martial for assaulting a peer. He had had a severe alcohol problem and had the reputation of assaulting people while under the influence of alcohol. The episode which led to his court martial is perhaps illustrative. He had returned one night from liberty, quite drunk, and brought a pizza aboard. He had put the pizza down and apparently dozed off. When he awoke, a piece of the pizza was gone. Without offering

anyone a chance to give an explanation, he had gone to an adjacent bunk, found the man in the bunk asleep, yanked him out of the bunk, threw him on the floor, and was trampling him when he was arrested by unit law enforcement personnel. It was reported that, although he had been anxious to be discharged by the Navy, he had been concerned about his mother. He had voiced the fear that it would break her heart.

Upgrade Case #26

This individual was 20 years old when discharged, after nearly two years of active duty, most of it spent at the discharging unit. He was a high school graduate, and single. He had extended his reenlistment to six years to qualify for an advanced training program. He was a technician in his unit in an area where very few persons are trained, so that his billet would not have been easy to fill.

He was described as a very immature person who had little respect for authority. His youth was thought to have been sheltered requiring very little responsibility on his part and his stay in the Navy, and his eventual Upgrade, underscored his difficulty in transition to responsible adulthood. This person would do the jobs he was assigned only when it was convenient and would blame others if anything went wrong, and complain constantly. He was not considered trustworthy. He had received non-judicial punishment on four separate occasions, all for incidents

involving a lack of respect for authority. This serviceman was also viewed as loud and obnoxious and had difficulty maintaining friendships with peers. Although his offenses together were not seen as sufficient to warrant normal punitive discharge, he was said to require an inordinate amount of supervision to produce a below-average performance level.

Upgrade Case #27

This serviceman was single and relatively young, with a high school education. He had been in his unit for two years, had performed below acceptable levels for his rating, and was assigned to temporary additional duty. He had no close friends and was described as one who didn't take responsibility for his own problems. He was viewed as having little potential, given his basic level of intelligence, and even less considering his low motivation. He received non-judicial punishment on three occasions, and was said to have been a constant administrative burden because of frequent minor infractions.

Upgrade Case #28

This Upgrade candidate was slightly older than his peers and was married for a short period of time. He had had a prior service experience but was in his first Navy enlistment with one year spent in the Upgrading unit. He was described as friendly, bright and witty, but as hardly ever where he was supposed to be.

The main problem with this individual was viewed as having its foundation in his marital relationship. He could not tolerate time away from his wife and frequently left his post without authorization to be with her. He made it clear to his superiors that he wanted to get out of his Navy commitment and would UA or desert if a discharge wasn't effected.

Upgrade Case #29

This individual was in the Navy a little over one year, most of which was spent with the discharging unit. He had completed high school and was married.

He was described as unkempt, with few friends, and his performance was seen as marginal. He became a serious administrative problem, however, because of his personal financial problems. He borrowed money constantly, from peers as well as others, purchased goods on credit and wrote a series of bad checks. He was said to have been constantly ducking creditors and was viewed as a compulsive liar. Although countless attempts to counsel this person were made, no improvements in the situation were forthcoming. Unit administrative time was spent acting as a collector to his creditors, a counsellor to him, and a liaison between him and his angry unpaid crew-mates.

Upgrade Case #30

This individual was in the Navy over two years, most of which was spent with the terminating unit. Although there wasn't a great deal of information available about him, he was seen as a marginal performer who was both frequently disobedient and absent from his post. He had had five incidents of non-judicial punishment, but attempted to avoid being discharged under Project Upgrade.

Upgrade Case #31

This individual was seen by many as having real psychological problems. Some described him as a person with paranoid delusions that people were sabotaging his work, that others were the cause of his problems, and that his superiors were against him because of his race. He was frequently absent from his post and often did an incomplete job when he did work. He had had two years of active duty, most of which was spent in the discharging unit.

Upgrade Case #32

This individual was 20 years old, with a high school education and only a few months in the unit. Although rated, he never actually worked in the position for which he was trained. He was discharged before his initial assignment was completed.

When this individual joined the unit, he befriended a group of peers who were rebellious and frequently got into trouble. All but one of his former friends have also been punitively discharged since this person's discharge. He was said to have had an argumentative attitude stemming from a

belief that what he was asked to do was not worthwhile, and a temper which he had trouble controlling. Those that knew him described him as very outspoken and very afraid that what he said and did would get him into deeper and deeper trouble with his superiors. They said he got so mad at times he would just walk away and disappear for a while. He had almost daily confrontations with his superiors and could not be counted on to complete his work. He had had one NJP on his record for drug use.

Upgrade Case #33

The next individual had been a part of his unit for somewhere between 18 and 24 months. He was seen as a loud, obnoxious person and was sometimes described as a spoiled brat. Although he was viewed as a good worker who had a lot of potential, he seemed to sabotage any gains he made, often through behavior involving drugs or alcohol. Some felt that he had a real drinking problem.

Shortly after entering his final unit, this serviceman became involved with a group of persons, most of whom were eventually discharged for reasons involving possession or sale of illegal drugs. Although he was said to be a follower in this group rather than a leader, some of his problems seemed to be aggravated by this association. After a year onboard, this Upgrade candidate married and most who knew him agreed that his marital problems became a major factor in the reasons behind his Upgrade. His wife was said to be very demanding and would not accept the time he needed

to be away from her. He went AWOL and UA more than once, and his attitude deteriorated. He became quite vocal about his desire to get out of the Navy and, in desperation at one point, he caused himself significant physical harm in an attempt to obtain a discharge.

Upgrade Case #34

There was very little information available on this individual. He was described as a wild and loud person. He was of average intelligence, but was seen as an undependable worker. He could do whatever he wanted to do well, but would claim he couldn't understand how to do those things he didn't want to do. He was not well liked and may have been involved with drugs and alcohol. He was 20 years old and had been with the discharging unit over one year.

Upgrade Case #35

This individual was seen as a good performer with a bad attitude. He was described as someone who would "just as soon knock you down as talk to you." He didn't have many friends and was viewed as being self-centered, with a chip on his shoulder. He fought a lot.

This serviceman's most serious problem, however, may have been with drugs. He had over-dosed while deployed and had been involved in drug rehabilitation efforts.



Upgrade Case #36

This serviceman was 21 years of age, had a high school education and had been with the discharging unit for nearly two years. He was rated and was extremely skillful at his job, a billet that was always difficult to fill.

He was viewed as a "dirt ball" with an inflated idea of his own importance. He was seen as haughty, frequently challenging authority. He had four offenses requiring non-judicial punishment, half of which involved disobeying a lawful order and disrespect.

The problem most frequently mentioned was that this individual crafted drug paraphernalia and kept his peers well supplied. Drug use was said to have been noticeably reduced as a result of this person's discharge.

Upgrade Case #37

The next individual was 21 years old, had ten years of education, and was married with one child. He was described as mechanically inclined and a good worker, who really liked his job. His most serious problem, a former peer said, was that he wanted to be with his wife, a woman who could not deal with his long absences. His three NJP offenses involved extended absences (including a desertion) from his unit and his efforts to end his commitment to the Navy included at least one suicide attempt.

Upgrade Case #38

This person was single, 20 years old, and had a high school education. He had been in this unit for nearly two years and had received non-judicial punishment on four occasions.

He was described as very intelligent and well liked by his peers. Although not viewed as "mechanically inclined," he knew his job and performed it well. He was seen as always on the lookout for infringements on his rights or evidence of discrimination and he counselled others to do the same. Drugs were seen as a problem for this person. He had received one drug-related NJP and drug counselling.

Upgrade Case #39

This individual was 22 years old, married with one child. He had a high school education and was in the terminating unit for more than a year. He had had three NJPs.

He was seen as a very poor performer, lacking in both intelligence and motivation. He was described as a loner who was difficult to get along with, and whose dream it was to leave the Navy and live alone somewhere in the woods.

Upgrade Case #40

This person had been onboard nearly 2 1/2 years and had had two NJPs on his record. He was described as a very big man who instilled fear in his peers. He was seen as a bully and he fought a great deal. Although there was some evidence that this person dealt in drugs and acted as an enforcer, it was not sufficient for a court martial. He was said to know his job well, but was not motivated to work hard at it.

Upgrade Case #41

Very little information was available for this individual. He was seen as a person who didn't get along with others and often claimed that others were "picking" on him. He was said to be overweight and physically dirty. Although he showed little initiative, he was viewed as someone who could do good work if he wanted to. He had been caught with drug-related paraphernalia and had gone through some drug rehabilitation.

Upgrade Case #42

Very little information was available on this person. He was described as someone who was so lacking in intelligence that he was impossible to train. His performance was described as "terrible." He was also seen as a loner who "wasn't all there." (He was reported to have walked around talking to inanimate objects, on occasion.) Although there were incidents of his disobeying officers and being absent without leave, these behaviors may have been due to the fact that he didn't know any better.

Upgrade Case #43

This individual was 19 years old, had a tenth grade education, and was single. He had been in the terminating unit close to a year.

He was described as being overweight and unkempt, quiet about his personal life, and a loner who said he'd rather live like a hermit and who had a lot of trouble getting along with others. He was said to have been quite close to his mother and still very dependent upon her and immature. He was viewed as a smooth talker, a "sea lawyer," who only wanted to do things his way and constantly tested the limits of the system.

Although this person tried to impress superiors at much higher levels than himself, he was often argumentative and disrespectful of peers and immediate supervisors. His performance was average but undependable, and he frequently left his post and wandered off or made mistakes that indicated to his supervisors that his mind wasn't on his work. He was said to have encouraged his peers to act in ways that got them in trouble and he lied a lot in attempts to get himself and others out of the trouble he had caused.

Upgrade Case #44

This serviceman was 21 years old when discharged. He was single, had an 11th grade education, and had spent nearly all of his active duty (27 months) in the terminating unit. He had seven violations of the UCMJ and had appeared at Captain's Mast on five separate occasions.

This person was described by superiors as a non-productive worker who just wanted to collect his paycheck and leave. He required extremely close supervision to get the job done right. He was also seen as wild and rebellious. He appeared to have a great difficulty getting along with many people, especially those in authority, and at one point tried to run one person down with his vehicle. He was often involved in fights and often in trouble. He was believed to have a great deal of influence on his peers and on new persons joining the unit.

Upgrade Case #45

This individual was 21 years of age, single and had spent three years in the unit. There were seven instances of unauthorized absence on his record.

He was seen as a nice guy in general; friendly, a lot of fun, got along with everyone. His work was said to be about average, but he had two major problems. First, he had had seven instances of short unauthorized absences, each for only a couple of hours, but becoming burdensome administratively. Second, he was described as having a drug problem, but there was little additional information about this.

Upgrade Case #46

This individual was 19 years old, single, and had been in the terminating unit only seven of his 17 months of active duty. His record of violations of the UCMJ involve larceny and destruction to military property.

He was described as having no pride in his personal appearance whatsoever. He was greatly disliked by his peers and was often involved in fights with them. This person was said to have been racially bigoted and vocal about it. His interest in his job was said to have been in finding ways to avoid it; he didn't seem to care about anything but seeing how little he could get away with.

Upgrade Case #47

Very little information was available on the next Upgrade candidate. He was 19 years old, had a high school education and one and one-half years of active duty. He was described as a very nice guy who really didn't get into much trouble. His main problems involved unauthorized absences: he was written up for UAs four times over a nine month period. A superior reported that this person had some difficulty adapting to Navy life and when offered a desirable civilian job, he wanted nothing more than to leave the Navy to take it.

Upgrade Case #48

This individual was 18 years old when he entered the service, a high school graduate and single with no dependents. He had been onboard for just over one year and had one NJP for possession of hashish and two NJPs for larceny. His job onboard was in the ship's store.

He was viewed by his superiors as being smart, but mouthy, and many felt he could not be trusted and he had a poor service orientation. His LPO said that he had problems with drugs, alcohol and insubordination and that he had a poor military attitude.

His immediate peers saw this individual's problem quite differently. They saw the poor relationship with the LPO as being the root of the problem--several even said the Navy kept the wrong man, and that this individual was Upgraded because he became the LPO's scapegoat. After this initial NJP for hashish, the two larceny charges both bypassed the chain of command. In short, one early drug NJP, plus a poor relationship with the LPO helped to gradually build the case for this individual's Upgrade.

#### Upgrade Case #49

This individual was 23 at the time of discharge and had been onboard one and one-half years. He was single, had no dependents and was a high school graduate. He had no NJPs or civilian offenses at the time of discharge under Project Upgrade.

He had two characteristics that were widely cited as reasons for his discharge: he was a flasher and had a hygiene problem. He was also seen as lazy, inconsistent, often late and had a habit of avoiding work often by reporting in sick. He was often assigned extra military duty, but did not go to mast.

This individual had a rough childhood and bad family background. He was in debt to loan sharks and was often drunk and disrespectful. He also at one point tried to write up his LPO for an offense. One of his central problems seemed to be a high need for attention. He also had a problem with his LPO.

His one redeeming characteristic was an artistic talent for drawing. This often generated hostility, however, because he used it to jump command and gain attention from the officers onboard.

Upgrade Case #50

This individual was 24 at the time of discharge and had been onboard about one year. He had a high school diploma and was single with no dependents. He had 4-5 NJPs for drug use and possession and was a persistent administrative burden that contributed little or nothing to the unit.

This individual was seen as being fairly intelligent but was lazy, slept much of the time, disappeared for entire days at a time and required extremely close supervision if he was to accomplish anything.

His peers saw him as a drifter and a burnout and indicated that they often had to check the work he had done and did not feel safe working with him. The peers also noted that this individual was mouthy and frequently got drunk and then got into trouble in town.



ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS ASSOCIATED  
WITH THE INCIDENCE OF UPGRADE

Following the coding of individual Upgrade cases, the 14 units themselves were coded for the impact of a series of organizational factors which the interviewing staff believed, from their experience, might be associated with the incidence of Upgrade. As in the case of individual codings, a bank of such characteristics was constructed. Content analysis followed procedures identical to those employed in coding individual cases. Table 5 presents the 31 code characteristics together with the frequency of units in which the factor was found to either favor the incidence of Upgrade, or reduce that incidence. The number of units in which the factor either had no impact or the impact was mixed is listed, as is the number of units in which the information was simply not ascertained. Because of the small number of cases, no test of significance is feasible. However, as an arbitrary convention, those categories containing at least six of the 14 units were considered to represent possibly meaningful associations.

The 14 characteristics containing such meaningful associations are listed in Table 6, together with a description of the impact each had upon Upgrade. (One characteristic, 2.3 Manpower Level, contained a meaningful association in both directions).

From this we see that the factors which appear to have increased the incidence of Upgrade were the following:

Table 5 ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS CODES

	Unit Frequency				(9) N/A
	(1) Favors Upgrade	(0) No Impact on Upgrade	(2) Reduces Upgrade	(3) N/A	
1. Nature of Work, Work Situation					
1.1 Important Work	5	0	3	6	
1.2 Type of Operation	7	0	3	4	
1.3 Hazardous Work	0	2	2	10	
2. Value of the Person					
2.1 Manpower Level	6	1	6	1	
2.2 Task vs People Value (Cost Benefit)	4	1	9	0	
2.3 Importance of Individual	3	1	9	1	
3. Structural Factors					
3.1 Size/Cohesiveness	4	1	7	2	
3.2 Hierarchical Distance	8	1	3	2	
4. CO/XO Attitudes & Stance					
4.1 Authoritarian Management Style	2	5	2	5	
4.2 Patriarch	3	10	0	1	
4.3 Pound of Flesh Attitude	4	10	0	0	
4.4 Each Discharge is Our Failure	1	12	0	1	
4.5 Right to Fire	3	3	2	6	
4.6 Too Easy on Them	4	3	1	6	
4.7 Tolerance about Drugs	3	1	6	4	
5. Procedural Considerations					
5.1 Upgrade vs Administrative Discharge	4	1	7	2	
5.2 Window Problem	0	8	4	2	
5.3 Transfer Alternative	3	9	0	2	
5.4 Evidence, Records & Documentation	0	1	5	8	
6. Location					
6.1 Deployment	7	6	1	0	
6.2 In Shipyard	3	1	8	2	
7. Clarity of Options					
7.1 Awareness of Alternatives	5	4	4	1	
7.2 Inconsistency	1	5	2	6	
7.3 Leave Stance	1	8	0	5	
8. Entry Procedures					
8.1 The RAG	0	14	0	0	
8.2 I. Division	0	10	0	4	
8.3 Sponsorship	3	10	0	1	
9. Social/Organizational Factors					
9.1 Morale	5	0	7	2	
9.2 Trust	5	0	6	3	
9.3 Peer Pressure, Direction and Amount	6	0	4	4	
9.4 Change Pattern	8	1	4	1	

Table 6

Code Frequencies Differentiating  
Encouragement vs Reduction of Upgrade Incidence

Code Number	Code Title	Code Category	Encouraged Incidence of Upgrade	Reduced Incidence of Upgrade
1.2	Type of Operation	1	Critical, interdependent	
2.1	Manpower Level	1	Relatively Large Number of Persons Available	
2.1	Manpower Level	2		Small numbers every person counts
2.2	Task versus People Value	2		People more important than immediate task
2.3	Importance of the Individual	2		Individual important
3.1	Size/Cohesiveness	2		Structure of cohesive teams
3.2	Hierarchical distance	1	Upper echelons aloof and removed, unaware	
4.7	Tolerance about drugs	2		CO/XO less concerned about drugs, as long as work not impaired
5.1	Upgrade vs Administrative Discharge	2		Upgrade not used as substitute for administrative discharge
6.1	Deployment	1	Tighter requirements, more pressure during deployment	
6.2	In Shipyard	2		
9.1	Morale	2		Reduced pressure
9.2	Trust	2		Higher morale
9.3	Peer pressure	1	Pressure for or against dysfunctional behavior	Higher levels of mutual trust
9.4	Change pattern	1	(from NHRMS findings: lower gain or more deterioration)	

- . Performing critical, interdependent tasks
- . Relatively large number of persons available
- . Upper Echelons aloof, removed, and unaware
- . Tighter requirements and pressures from deployment
- . Peer pressure for, or against, dysfunctional behavior
- . Lower gain, or more deterioration, in organizational functioning.

The factors which appear to have reduced the incidence of Upgrade, on the other hand are these:

- . Small numbers--every person counts
- . People more important than the immediate task
- . The individual is important
- . Structure of cohesive teams
- . CO/XO less concerned about drugs as long as work not impaired
- . Upgrade not used as substitute for administrative discharge
- . Reduced pressure from being in the shipyard
- . Higher morale
- . Higher levels of mutual trust

Let us take each of these in turn, beginning with the factors which appear to have increased the incidence of Upgrade.

Performing critical, interdependent tasks. Where tasks were viewed as critical to the effective functioning of the unit and as interdependent with many other tasks and functions which had to go on, there was much less tolerance for poor or slipshod performance and a greater inclination on the part of Commanding Officers to remove non-performers under Project Upgrade.

Relatively Large Number of Persons Available. This had less to do with "fatness" or "leanness" of staffing in relation to the authorized complement than it had to do with the sheer number of persons available at a particular level or in a particular category. There appears to have been greater willingness on the part of Commanding Officers to release persons under Upgrade if they were part of such an available pool (regardless of authorized complement) than if numbers were more limited. There may as well have been a tendency for vulnerable individuals to have become "lost" in a relatively anonymous pool.

Upper Echelons Aloof, Removed, and Unaware. Upgrade incidence appears to have been greater where upper levels from the Commanding Officer, Executive Officer, down through Division Chief and Department Head were attitudinally or physically aloof, removed, and unaware.

Tighter Requirements and Pressures from Deployment.

This had less to do with where the individual was at the time of being discharged than it had to do with the point at which the dysfunctional behavior began to become apparent and critical. In this instance, the tighter requirements and pressures occurring during deployment appear to have been associated with a higher Upgrade incidence.

Peer Pressure for, or Against, Dysfunctional Behavior.

In some instances, vulnerable individuals fell in with a group of persons involved in drugs, alcohol, counter-dependency, or all of these. In such cases, the norms of that peer group encouraged the dysfunctional behavior subsequently associated with Upgrade. In other instances, the individual was displaying isolated dysfunctional behavior, and peers, instead of taking the individual in hand, were pressuring, rejecting, and abusing him. In both cases, the pressure led to increased instances of dysfunctionality, and in the end to a higher incidence of Upgrade.

Lower Gain, or More Deterioration, in Organizational functioning. This came from the Navy Human Resources Management Survey Gain Score, not from the interview materials, and reflected the fact that, even for this small sub-sample, the presence of a lower degree of improvement or a greater degree of deterioration in organizational functioning increased the likelihood that the Command would Upgrade individuals.

Turning next to the factors which have reduced the incidence of Upgrade:

Small Numbers--Every Person Counts. In many units, interviewers were told that, when numbers were tight and manning levels lean, every person counted. It was not that Commanding Officers in such situations were reluctant to release someone under Project Upgrade, but rather that the processes that they had set in motion from the very first day were more likely to socialize the individual closely to the unit, and prevent subsequent trouble.

People More Important Than the Immediate Task. No Commanding Officer interviewed felt that the tasks to be performed were unimportant, or that the unit's mission and accomplishment of that mission were of anything but overriding importance. However, some Commanding Officers and Executive Officers differentiated between the overall mission and the immediate task and saw people, as a long-term resource, as more important than the immediate task and its accomplishment.

The Individual Is Important. Similar to the code immediately preceding, a number of Commanding Officers and Executive Officers individualized the treatment that they accorded persons in their Command on the grounds that the individual was important.

Structure of Cohesive Teams. Where the unit consisted of a structure of close, very cohesive teams into which newcomers were quickly and effectively absorbed, incidence of Upgrade appeared to have been reduced.

CO/XO Less Concerned About Drugs as long as Work Not Impaired. No Commanding Officer or Executive Officer interviewed was unconcerned about drugs or the legal and perhaps hazardous problem that they pose. However, some were clearly less personally concerned and upset about drugs, per se, reserving their concern for those instances where obvious drug usage had occurred and where the work had been impaired.

Upgrade Not Used as Substitute for Administrative Discharge. Where Commanding Officers had not seen Project Upgrade as an easy and convenient route to use in removing persons who otherwise would have been administratively discharged, Upgrade incidence itself was lower.

Reduced Pressure from Being in the Shipyard. Although for some persons not being on deployment but rather being in the shipyard, provided greater access to off-the-ship opportunities to get into trouble, for the most part, the reduced pressure and the reduced demands occurring when the unit was in the shipyard tended to reduce, rather than increase, Upgrade-related behavior.

Higher Morale. Where morale in the units was seen as high and strong, fewer Upgrades occurred.



Higher Levels of Mutual Trust. No doubt coincident with morale, where there were obviously higher levels of mutual trust among the crew between enlisted, non-commissioned officers, and officers, fewer Upgrades occurred.

Reviewing these two overall patterns, one associated with increased incidences of Upgrade, the other with reduced incidence of Upgrade, suggested that there might underlie these differences a more general, organizational or management stance in the units concerned, and that this difference might, itself, be related to the incidence of the five Upgrade types. Accordingly, the codes and the interview materials were reviewed and the units divided into two categories: (1) Human Resource Oriented -- those in which people were viewed as more important than the immediate task, where there was a structure of cohesive teams, where there were high morale and high levels of mutual trust; and (2) All other units. The frequency of individual Upgrade cases, by type, was then calculated for the two clusters of units (it should be noted that of the 14 units, three had zero incidence of Upgrade and could not be included in the tabulation; however, all three were classified as Human Resource Oriented). The results are presented in Table 7. Although only one type (Type 1 - Rebels) is separately significant by a sign test, the overall separation is significant beyond the .01 level of

confidence and can be attained by aggregating the types. There is, in other words, even for these limited, and in many ways qualitative data, a clear association of the incidence of Upgrade with the orientation--human resource vs task--of the unit and its Commanding Officer.

Table 7  
Organizational Factors  
and the Incidence of  
Upgrade by Individual Upgrade Type

	Frequency for Human Resource Oriented Units	Frequency for Task Oriented Units	Sign Test P
Type 1 (Rebels)	1	8	.05
+Type 5 (Sociopaths)	0	2	.05
+Type 4 (Dropouts)	3	8	.01
+Type 2 (Failures)	3	6	.01
+Type 3 (Burnouts)	5	8	<.01
Total	12	32	<.01

OBSERVATIONS FROM THE FINDINGS

The individual Upgrade cases examined in this interview study do not constitute what one would call an attractive group of subordinates. Their behavior in the period leading up to their discharge under Project Upgrade was, in fact, dysfunctional to the unit and they were, no doubt, extremely difficult to deal with. The data and analyses cited above suggest that the cases may be divided into several clearly distinct types, suggesting different routes to their respective outcomes, and perhaps different sets of causes. All were individuals, of course, but the similarities among the patterns of some and the contrast to the patterns of others is striking. Drugs and alcohol, for example, were a common theme. However, it is interesting to note that drugs, but not alcohol, were involved in the case of the Rebels and the Dropouts, whereas alcohol, not drugs, was characteristic of the Sociopaths. Both alcohol and drugs were apparent in the case of the Burnouts, and neither alcohol nor drugs seems to have been strongly associated with the Failures. The material upon which the case studies is based suggests that drug usage by Rebels and Dropouts, although it was relatively common, was at the same time relatively modest, and may well have been simply one more symptom of their rejection of the system, rather than a cause of their difficulty. Alcohol was clearly a

contributing factor, but only one, to the violence reported on the part of the Sociopaths. Only in the case of the Burnouts can one perhaps assume that alcohol and drugs, their usage begun for whatever reason, were principal factors in their trouble.

Finally, there are two other impressions gained from the interviewing and the discussions which appear to have relevance. One of these is around the issue of drug usage, particularly marijuana. This investigator has the distinct impression, indeed he was specifically informed of this on several occasions, that despite the actions which the Navy has taken to reduce drug usage, the drug culture in the units is alive and well. Indeed, Officers and Chief Petty Officers were often frank to admit that drugs were widely used, and that they posed no apparent problem for the performance of most crew members. In fact, for all of the Upgrade cases except the Burnouts, drug involvement appeared to have been an ancillary characteristic, not in their minds a direct cause.

The urinalysis program has, of course, impacted the use of marijuana. However, the description provided suggests that the result may not be that which was intended. First, the young Seamen appear to be excellent calculators of the odds. They know the length of time within which marijuana may be detected in the urine, and they realize the odds of their being caught. They, therefore, time their usage to minimize the odds of detection. However, a more serious

possibility was raised several times. Whether true or not, it is common belief aboard the units that, while the urinalysis tests are sensitive to marijuana for a period of perhaps two weeks, they are sensitive to the presence of cocaine for only 24 hours. The concern and the worry is that the urinalysis program is driving sailors away from marijuana and toward alcohol abuse, on the one hand, and cocaine usage, on the other.

The second impression which this investigator has, and found to be striking, was the sheer number of instances in which the individual who ultimately ended up as an Upgrade statistic, had started out on what appeared to be a profitable even keel. At some point, however, something happened. Those whom we interviewed were often uncertain as to the nature of the event, or what it had meant to the individual. Nevertheless, for a great number of them, there appeared to be some point at which their subsequently dysfunctional behavior was triggered.

Finally, the response to a question which was frequently asked by the interviewers--could these individuals be screened out in advance?--was almost universally negative. They were seen as persons who, given the inclination, and certainly at the time of recruitment, could have fooled any recruiter. In any event, they were unlikely to describe in the recruitment process early childhood factors which might have in some way or other predisposed them toward what happened. It was felt by a few

individuals that they might possibly be screened out in bootcamp but that to do so would require an almost utter reorientation of the bootcamp Company Commander, away from the view that his task is to make certain they all "make it". Even then, our informants considered it unlikely that such a screening would be successful.

SUMMARY

Interviews were conducted in 14 units, around 44 Upgrade cases. The resulting interviews provided data which were coded in two distinct ways: (1) at the level of the individual Upgrade case, and (2) at the level of the unit. The results show that there were five distinct types of Upgrade individuals (termed Rebels, Failures, Burnouts, Dropouts, and Sociopaths) and that the incidence of these cases is related to the management orientation present in the unit. Where the orientation of the unit can best be described as that consonant with human resources, fewer Upgrade cases resulted. However, where the orientation was that toward the immediate task, the incidence was considerably higher. Drugs and alcohol were involved in most cases, but appear not to have been instrumental causes of the behavior deterioration present in any, except the type termed Burnouts. Even in this case, it is not clear whether the behavior deterioration resulted from drugs and alcohol or whether the deterioration, like the drug usage and alcohol consumption, were the result of something else. In any event, it does not seem likely that such individuals can be effectively screened out in advance. Indeed, it appears that for a large percentage of them, the dysfunctional behavior was typed at some point after entering the service, by events in the service environment or back home.



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